

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, ZA

SUBJ: KAUNDA MESSAGES TO SECRETARY

SUMMARY. THE EMBASSY WAS REQUESTED BY STATE HOUSE TO PICK UP MESSAGES FOR SECY KISSINGER SATURDAY EVENING, OCT 16. THE MESSAGES CONSISTED OF THREE LETTERS TO SECY KISSINGER FROM PRES KAUNDA, TEXTS OF WHICH FOLLOWS SEPTELS. NOTIFICATION CAME DURING HEIGHT OF CEREMONIES HONORING VISITING PM INDIRA GANDHI. THE FIRST TO THE SECRETARY'S LETTER OF SEPT 27 COMMENTING ON THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREVIOUS DAY. THE SECOND CONTAINS THE PRESIDENT'S THOUGHTS ON THE FORTHCOMING GENEVA TALKS. IT CRITICIZES THE BRITISH FOR RELUCTANCE TO ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY IN RHODESIA AND ASKS THAT THE US "BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON BRITAIN TO DO A LOT MORE." THE LAST LETTER CONCERNS SWAPO AND REAFFIRMS KAUNDA'S VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUTING DEATH SENTENCES AS WELL AS RELEASING PRISONERS AND MAKING SOME STATEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. I BELIEVE THE THREE LETTERS TOGETHER SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A CLEARING OF THE DECKS OF UNANSWERED MAIL RATHER THAN ANY MODIFICATION OF THE ZAMBIAN WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN REACHING A SOLUTION TO THE TWO PROBLEMS. KAUNDA STILL VALUES GREATLY THESE COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY AND UNDERSTANDS THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING US INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF SOLUTION TO BOTH PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS MAY BE HELPFUL IN PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR THESE MESSAGES.

2. FIRST LETTER ON THE FRONTLINE COMMUNIQUE:

THE LETTER IS A STIFF AND SOMEWHAT RESENTFUL REPLY TO THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO KAUNDA BOTH IN LUSAKA AND LATER BY SCHAUFLE IN GABORONE. MOST OF THE SUBSTANCE CONTAINED IN THIS REPLY HAD ALREADY BEEN COMMUNICATED ORALLY BY CHONA AND REPEATED TO THE DEPT IN LUSAKA 2699 ALONG WITH MY RESPONSES TO THE POINTS RAISED. I BELIEVE CHONA AND THE PRESIDENT ARE AWARE OF THE WEAK BASIS ON WHICH SOME OF THE POINTS ARE MADE AND THAT THIS REPLY IS BEING MADE MERELY FOR THE RECORD, I.E., THEY KNOW THAT WE ARE NOT CLAIMING THAT THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS APPROVED IN DETAIL AND IN ADVANCE THE PROVISIONS OF THE SMITH STATEMENT. SIMILARLY, THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY'S LETTER WAS NOT INTENDED TO ACCUSE THEM OF LEAKING THE PAPER GIVEN TO SMITH. THEIR SENSITIVITY ON THIS LATTER POINT IS UNUSUALLY HIGH AND MAY COME FROM THE FACT, AS WE UNDERSTAND FROM OTHER SOURCES, THAT IN FACT CHONA MAY HAVE GIVEN THE PAPER TO NKOMO BEFORE THE SMITH STATEMENT.

3. THE SECOND LETTER ON THE GENEVA TALKS: SPECIFICS OF THE ZAMBIAN COMPLAINT AGAINST THE BRITISH ARE NOT CLEAR. CHONA HAS EXPRESSED TO ME IN SURPRISINGLY STRONG TERMS HIS VIEW THAT THE GENEVA TALKS SHOULD BE CHAIRED BY SOMEONE OF MINISTERIAL RANK. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING FROM GRENNAN THAT MUGABE WAS THE CHIEF INSTIGATOR OF THIS DEMAND AND THAT HE DIDI NOT PRESS IT WITH GRENNAN WHO HAD THE IMPRESSION IT WAS MORE FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION THAN A SERIOUS OBSTACLE. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE BRITISH WILL APPOINT A "REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CROWN" IN SALISBURY WHO WILL ACT AS A "MEDIATOR" ONCE THE INTERIM GOVT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. IF THE ZAMBIANS ARE AWARE OF THIS IT MAY WELL BE ONE OF THE POINTS THEY ARE OBJECTING TO. THEIR PROFOUND DISTRUST OF SMITH LEADS THEM TO WANT THE BRITISH TO EXERT CONSIDERABLY MORE AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA AFTER ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM
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GOVT IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT SMITH CANNOT BACK OUT OF HIS UNDERTAKING TO SUPPORT MAJORITY RULE IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS.

4. THE THIRD LETTER ON NAMIBIA APPEARS TO CONTAIN A REINSERTION OF THE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL POINT INTO THE PRE-CONFERENCE NEGOTIATIONS, THOUGH IT IS STILL SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS. THE LETTER MAY INDICATE MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF WEAKENING ZAMBIAN INFLUENCE ON NUJOMA AND SWAPO AND THEREFORE A DESIRE TO PROVIDE THEM WITH FURTHER CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO GET THEM TO THE TABLE.

5. I DO NOT INTEND TO RAISE THE MATTER OF THESE LETTERS IF KAUNDA CALLS ME IN THIS AFTERNOON FOLLOWING

THE MEETING OF THE FOUR FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS AS HE
DID LAST TIME. LOW

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